1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

bread, and a new shirt. Each Easter the godfather must send to his godchild a candle to take to church for the service on Easter Saturday, and a red egg. At Easter, the relationship between the godchild and the spiritual parent takes a fresh strength and emphasis when men with repentant hearts are renewing their state of grace, a condition which is made possible for each individual through Baptism.

Bridegroom and wedding sponsor, or natural father and spiritual father, address one another reciprocally as κουμπάρε; the godchild addresses his spiritual father as νουνέ. The very use of these terms of address carry with them an implied pattern of conduct, of duties, and privileges. The quality of the relationship between the natural parent and the spiritual parent is recognized in the prohibition on marriage between members of the two elementary families of marriage of the co-parents. Sexual relations between these persons are incestuous. The joint responsibility of the co-parents for the spiritual condition of the child, not only in their relations to the child but more particularly in their behaviour to one another, is the strength of the relationship. For if the natural or spiritual father of the child employs any sharp or dishonourable practice against the other, 'he destroys the oil' with which the child was anointed and, consequently, his right relation to God. Therefore such actions are wanton and sinful. This heavy responsibility of the natural and spiritual co-parents is consistent with the more significant ritual role that is played by the sponsor-godparent at the Baptism in comparison with his duties at the marriage ceremony. In the latter rite he sponsors a responsible adult, in the former he stands in the place of a small child who cannot answer for himself.

The natural father and the spiritual father must have confidence in one another; they must never quarrel, or gossip about one another's affairs. It is argued that kinsmen by blood are not chosen, consequently it is inevitable that a man will quarrel with some of them. But the duties of spiritual kinship are entered into freely and for this reason spiritual kinsmen ought never to allow any difference of interest to threaten their relationship. Behind this belief are two considerations. The relationship is concerned with critical religious sacraments, therefore the appropriate behaviour pattern ought to follow the ideal of Christian fellowship. On the other hand, it is a relation with a person

/216 cont./

627 decided upon and carried out by individuals. They are variants of the
682 major sanction, namely social isolation, the nature and importance of
689 which we have pointed out. With respect to the removal of the head, we have nothing to say since the facts speak for themselves.

After this general survey we may conclude:

629 First, that it is certain that arbiters, groups and individuals
692 determined by circumstances or by a regulation, actually perform the
182 legal functions set forth at the beginning. They enforce and demand
626 respect for the order dictated by the customs and general ideas of their society. The first two /arbiters and groups/ do so by relying on the group and its dynamics; the individuals close /by means of/ their own specific functions recognized by the group and supported by it when they fulfill them.

Second, that the rules of organization and functioning of Sarakatsani groups, stated above, their customs as well as what we have called "their general social ideas" take the place of rules or prescriptions of law. For, depending on the cases and the circumstances, conformity to them is required. And they are followed as a result of the mechanism of "sanction-coercion," either visible or disguised.

Sarakatsani society therefore has law and agencies of law. Though they are not always apparent, they nonetheless exist.

CRIME AND MISDEMEANORS AMONG THE SARAKATSANI.

693 The Sarakatsani consider a certain number of acts as crimes or
694 misdemeanors. We propose in this section to describe them, as well as
(128) to indicate the punishments associated with them and the means of which they are carried out.

Homicide and assault.

682 Respect for life and for the integrity of the body is a rule the violation of which leads to the death of the culprit.

/217/ This rule must not be considered identical with that of the penal code. A look at the situations in which it is applied will suffice

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"in the end is a man and is only seeking his pleasure."

Rape and abduction of a young girl.

These two acts are also punished with death by the relatives of the victim. But they too are extremely rare.

The kidnapping, the abduction of a young girl usually is a form of vengeance. It happens that a suitor whose proposals have been evaded by the relatives of the young girl avenges himself by carrying her off forcibly with the help of his friends.

However, if the abductor then does not consent to marry her the men of the victim's family have the duty to kill him. The justification for the punishment resides in the principles which have been set forth above.

The theft of animals.

This act is either a crime or an exploit according to circumstances.

If the thief is caught in the act he is killed on the spot by the shepherds watching their flocks. If he is identified after the deed he must give up the stolen animals in order to acquit himself. If he refuses, he risks being either killed by the injured shepherds or of being deprived of part of his flock in retaliation.

/221/ However, an animal thief not caught is the subject of admiration by all, even his victims. For it is not easy to carry off his exploit. In order to manage it, the thief must crawl and climb, without noise in the dark of night without a moon, across gorges and rocks, elude the watch of armed shepherds, escape the scent of the terrible dogs capable of tearing him to shreds in an instant, carry off the sheep without having them bleat of sound their bells, and disappear with them silently into the night.

On the other hand, to steal animals in a fixed sheepfold of the winter camp is a shameful act that brings disgrace to the one guilty of it.

Finally, this code, so to speak, regarding animal theft implies another rule:

The thief unidentified and therefore unpunished is in any case